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Labor Age

Workers Education

—WHAT'S IT ALL ABOUT?

Dividing the Spoils

The Fighting Scottish Miner

"Equal Wrongs"

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Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.

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The Workers' Right Hand Man

PROPHET Joseph Smith, author of the Book of Mormon, always contended that God was his "right hand man." Be that as it may—and we have long ago learned not to quarrel with Prophets—History proves this beyond question: That God helps those who help themselves.

Equally true was that of the Prophet Joseph himself and of his chief apostle, Brigham Young, the Lion of the Lord. Likewise true is it of the workers. Unless they go forth to do battle on their own account, none of the Employing Interests can be expected to lie awake at night planning for their welfare. And in this battle the workers' "right hand man" is Workers' Education.

"One of the most noticeable features of the recent history of the working-class movement," states the Directory of the National Council of British Labor Colleges, "is the growing recognition of the power of ideas. The activities of the Rothermeres of the Press have convinced the Trade Union and Labor Movement as well as the Co-operative Movement that press control of working-class thinking is a danger that cannot be over-estimated. In the same way, the Universities, by consistently returning to Parliament representatives hostile to Labor, have convinced great sections of the working class that, though the Universities are centers of knowledge so far as subjects such as mathematics and chemistry are concerned, they are, on social problems, centers of darkness rather than of light."

To be good and reliable Trade Unionists, it adds, men and women must not merely carry a card or hold an office. They must also "know the why and wherefore of Trade Unionism."

In America, as in Britain, the Workers' Education Movement arose out of necessity. The Open Shop Fight showed that Labor must be more self-sufficient. It showed that the active labor man and woman must have at their finger tips a practical knowledge of economics and psychology and other things, which the employers have available for their own use.

The **International Molders Journal** rightly says in its current issue that the Labor Movement of one country cannot slavishly take over the institutions of that of another nation. But it can profit immensely by the experiences of other Movements. The British Movement split into two wings on workers' education: one committed to cultural training, the other to training in Marxian dogmas. The American Movement will probably strike a happy mean between the two, as a result of our own needs here. The keynote of that mean is struck by Brothers Muste and Brunson. It is that Workers' Education is for the benefit of the Labor Movement; that, on the one hand, it must not be too academic, on the other, not dogmatic. It must be to train workers for service to the Movement, not for their individual development. The latter will often mean merely making little middle class men and women of them, eager to break with the workers as such.

The same note was struck a long time ago by Fannia Cohn, of the I. L. G. W. U., pioneer in the American Movement, when she said emphatically that Workers Education must be owned and controlled by the Labor Movement, and run solely for the Movement's benefit. Perhaps this issue will aid in working out the problem more definitely. That is our hope.

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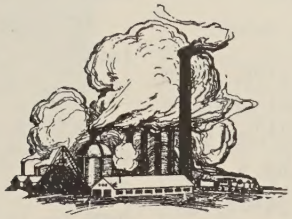
Labor Age



What's It All About?

By A. J. MUSTE

WHERE TRADE UNIONISTS ARE "TRAINED"

Our First Resident College Brookwood

WORKERS' education in the proper sense of the term applies to enterprises under the control of workers' organizations (trade unions primarily), having as their fundamental aim to help the members and officers of these organizations to render more efficient and intelligent service to their organizations. This is a blunt statement with which perhaps some will not agree. What does it mean and how may it be justified?

Every group or class in society carries on some sort of educational work for those who are or may become its members. Such education always has two chief aims. It seeks to impart a knowledge of a certain procedure, of ways of doing things that are of importance to the organization. On the other hand, it also seeks to impart the general aims, ideals and spirit of the group, in order that members may be inspired with loyalty to it.

Thus the fraternal order teaches candidates for membership the rules of the order, grips, passwords, proper behavior at meetings. But in addition it brings before them the great ideas and ideals of the order, in order to inspire enthusiastic loyalty. Thus the church teaches children or prospective members proper procedure in connection with church services and ceremonies. But it also undertakes in various ways to give them an understanding of the doctrines, the philosophy, the fundamental spiritual aims of the church in order to arouse loyalty.

It is so with every kind of educational work. A man goes to law school and learns how to try cases. He also acquires a lawyer's point of view, which

affects him in all the relations of life. He goes to engineering school and learns how to build bridges but also gets the engineering slant on everything. He goes to Harvard and learns something about physics or chemistry. He also comes out a "Harvard" man.

Ever Since Trade Unionism Began

There has been workers' education ever since there have been trade unions. It is a great mistake to suppose that workers' education is something that dropped out of the sky or was conceived by a benevolently disposed professor three or four years ago. By means of meetings, pamphlets and official journals, the trade unions have always imparted education to actual or prospective members. In this way has the union informed them, on the one hand, about shop rules, methods of conducting the organization and other such points of procedure, and on the other hand, inspired them with loyalty to the great aims and ideals of the movement.

Workers' education is more elaborate and complex today, simply because the tasks confronting the unions are more elaborate and complex. The unions are therefore shaping a more adequate educational instrument to meet the needs of the new day. But the aim of workers' education is not essentially changed. The primary question to be asked by every enterprise that wears the name is still: "Here are the American trade unions with their increasingly complex problems, tasks, difficulties—with wages and hours to be gained, standards of living to be protected, open shop campaigns and company union drives to be resisted. Here, on the other hand, are the members and officers of these unions. Now, what can we as a workers' education enterprise do to help fit these members and officers intelligently and efficiently to meet these day-to-day problems and tasks?"

If we keep clearly in mind that the chief aim of any labor class or college is to aid trade unionists (insofar as education may be able to do so) to fight the unions' daily battle, it will be possible for us to answer many practical questions that face the workers' education movement.

Can Columbia Teach Picketing?

There is, for example, the question: "Why should workers' education not be carried on in collaboration with the extension departments of universities, colleges, or city public school systems, or even perhaps be handed over entirely to such institutions?"

There are many sound reasons, both from an educational and from a labor point of view, why this should not be done. In order to educate a man you have to take him where he is. The trade unionist must be educated in an atmosphere, in surroundings where he is at home. The adult trade unionist is by no means at home in the halls of colleges and universities, even when he finds there no direct hostility to his union.

At least some of the subjects that have to be taught in workers' classes will not, in the present state of things, be offered in the curriculum of a university extension department. Trade unionists have to be taught how to organize different types of workers, how to combat the open shop campaign, how to picket effectively, how to organize strikes. Is it likely that Columbia or the University of Pennsylvania, or many other institutions that might be named, will put such practical subjects into their curriculum?

Workers' education must to a great extent develop an educational method of its own. The trade unionists that come to our workers' classes and colleges have a background. They are emotionally mature. *They have had years of experience in the hard school of industry.* The problem of teaching them is a very different one from the problem of teaching boys and girls in high schools or colleges. Very crudely, one might say that in the main the boys and girls in the colleges have nothing to say but know how to say it, because of their training in organization of thought and expression in the lower schools. On the other hand, the members of our trade union classes have much to say, a rich experience, but they do not know how to say it. From a teaching standpoint, it will be well for some time to come to let our American workers' classes develop their own technique and not have imposed upon them the educational methods of our existing institutions, which are in any case being subjected to very severe criticism by competent educators.

Trade Unions Must Hold Control

Most important of all perhaps, the trade unions must keep workers' education under their own control. They must do this because workers' education must serve not only to impart a certain technique to the members of classes, but also to make clear to them the fundamental aims and ideals of the labor movement and inspire them with a passionate devotion to these aims and ideals. If people do not come out of workers' classes with a firmer determination to serve their various unions, then it were better that they were abandoned altogether.

But someone will ask: "If the aim of workers' education is to be to inspire workers with loyalty to the unions, does that not imply that workers' education is class-conscious?" The answer must be

AMID THE TREES

Men's Dormitory at Brookwood—a good place to sleep, and a good place to study.

very frankly, "Yes." This does not mean inspiring the individual workers with bitterness toward the individual boss. It does not mean inspiring them with a purpose to gain the interests of manual workers in a narrow sense and to wipe out everybody else. We want to inspire the workers with a consciousness of the position, the interests, the aims and the ideals of their group, precisely because it is upon that group and its faithfulness to its mission that the well-being of the whole community is in the long run dependent.

Does this mean that our method in workers' classes is to be propagandist? Decidedly not. Someone recently said: "The capitalists select their facts and present in their schools only those that serve their interests. So the workers will select their facts and present only those that serve their interest." I am in total disagreement with that sentiment. The workers can afford to select all the facts, to face the whole truth. They want nothing more or less than that from those who undertake to teach them. The Labor Movement is the one great modern movement that can afford to be quite scientific in its attitude, even toward itself.

If we are not to entrust workers' education, at any rate for the present, to any other control than that of the labor movement, does this mean that we must refrain from making use of the services of college men and women who are sympathetic toward the Labor Movement, as teachers? By no means. Control of the movement as a whole being provided for, we must avail ourselves of the best training in various directions that we can make helpful to our enterprise.

Nevertheless, what we have been saying surely implies that we must also bear in mind the importance of developing, so far as possible, young men and women of the labor movement capable of organizing workers' education enterprises and teaching workers' classes. The teacher of a workers' class must not only know something about something, but must know the psychology, the condition of his students. In many cases what the worker who has become a teacher lacks in professional training, he can make up by his knowledge of the psychology of the workers and of the movement.

GREETINGS FROM "JIM"

Harrisburg, Pa., March 4, 1924.

CONGRATULATIONS to Labor Age *on the forthcoming issue devoted to Workers' Education.*

From a long experience in the Labor Movement, I have come to realize the great necessity and the large value of Workers' Education. I am convinced that the workers themselves must control it and that it must be bigger and freer than mere propaganda. Labor is going to play a larger part in both the political and the industrial fields, and it must be fully equipped for the task.

The Workers' Education Movement faces many difficulties, financially and otherwise. We must be content to lay a strong, sure foundation, with patience and perseverance, that others may build on in the future. Labor Age *is itself an important part of Workers' Education, and I congratulate you on the courage and ability you are putting into this publication. All success to you!*

Fraternally yours,

JAMES H. MAURER,

President,

Workers' Education Bureau of America.

"Culture" Not Workers' Chief Need

We need to be careful, however, to maintain the highest standards of teaching, whether our teachers be drawn from the staffs of colleges and universities or eventually from the trade unions themselves.

Perhaps some will complain that workers' education, as we have defined it, is utilitarian and narrow. Do we not wish to impart "culture" to the worker; to make his life broad and rich; to put him into touch with all the treasures of literature, art and thought?

"Culture" certainly is not to be despised. But the worker is not suffering primarily from the fact that he cannot read Greek, or does not understand Browning, or appreciate the lines of the Venus de Milo. He is suffering primarily from the fact that he does not understand his own position in society as a worker and as a member of the labor movement. Consequently he does not know how adequately to fill that position. That is the basic need which

BRITAIN AND AMERICA

GREAT BRITAIN'S workers' education movement is nearer our own than that of any other country.

The common language and somewhat similar economic conditions make for this.

However, it would be a great mistake to pattern our movement after the British one in all its details. There are some sharp differences in educational conditions between the two countries that make for differences in the workers' educational efforts here and there.

In Britain, for example, there is no widespread public adult education, such as exists everywhere in America. For that reason, the British Movement has naturally found expression through the W. E. A. in a parallel, in some degree, to our public adult work. Again, the dogmatic method of approaching economic problems is much more pronounced in Europe than in this country—less so, it is true, in Engand than on the continent.

For these reasons, it is very likely that the American Movement will find its greatest effectiveness in directly training workers for active service to the Movement—rather than in academic education on the one hand or dogmatic training on the other.

AIM OF WORKERS' EDUCATION
(As seen by the W. E. B.)

AGAIN the question is asked what is the aim of Workers' Education? When the purpose is defined as an effort to train workers to work in the workers' movement, there arises the fear among some that this may become a narrow class movement for narrow class interests. Those who understand the labor movement know that although it is the movement of a class, it works nevertheless for the benefit of the entire social and economic order, for the whole human race.

Naturally, such a movement includes citizenship in a larger sense. When American History is taught in workers' classes it constitutes preparation for citizenship. When a considerable period of instruction is devoted to the history and aims of the labor movement, to the evolution of industry, to the rise of the working class, and its relation to existing laws and institutions, that also constitutes the basis of effective citizenship.

There need be no fear that workers' education will do anything else than broaden the vision and widen the outlook of the worker and will help to seek for a social order based on equality, justice, and on the conception that human life and human happiness are above material values and that production should be carried on for service and not for profit.—From the Workers' Education Bureau News Service.

workers' education must help supply.

The most truly cultured man is the man who knows his position in his social group and knows how to fill it. Once that is taken care of, the worker can then avail himself of the treasures of art and thought. But if this central need is neglected, then culture becomes a mere "frill" or a dangerous substitute for what he really needs.

In other words, practically anything may find a place in the curricula of our labor colleges if the workers ask for it. Provided, that we are all the time perfectly clear as to what we are really trying to get at. All this is very far from implying a contempt for culture or a narrow conception of the aim of workers' education. There is no danger that a man who is a good trade unionist in our modern complex society, with its complex demands upon the labor movement, will be narrow. What we are doing is insisting that workers' education shall work from the center and not nibble away at the circumference.

How About the "Revolution?"

On the other hand, someone will probably exclaim: "But workers' education must be revolutionary. It must teach the worker how to overthrow capitalism and it must develop a proletarian culture." Whatever may be the value of such a statement in general, it does not give us very much help in meeting the practical problems of workers' education at this moment.

It is to be feared that the people who employ these expressions very often picture the situation in this way: They begin with their vision of Utopia, of an ideal social order off in the distance. Just on this side of their Utopia, they see a dead line sharply cutting off the present state of things from Utopia. That dead line is the revolution. Far, far behind in the dim distance is the trade union movement. Workers' education is to be the Messiah, the giant that is to drag the reluctant trade union movement the long distance from where it is now—over the dead line of the revolution into Utopia! The result of such an approach, it seems to me, is bound to be misleading.

Let workers' education take its place not outside the trade union movement, but in it. Not as an instrument fashioned by somebody else, that is to do something to the movement, but as an instrument being fashioned by the movement itself. Here we stand where the movement stands; with wages to be raised, hours to be lowered, with intolerable housing conditions to be remedied, with strikes and lockouts to be fought, with injunctions and Supreme Court decisions to contend against, with the open shop drive to combat, with increasing responsibilities for the control of industry. The workers' education movement will have a practical, yet most glorious place, to fill—if as an instrument being created by the movement, it helps to equip the officers and members of the movement to meet those problems and tasks. If it consistently and honestly maintains this point of view about itself, it will never be reactionary. It will never dull the edge of the workers' aggressiveness. It will not impart to them a false "refinement" that makes them too good for practical service in the movement. It will inevitably grow as the American Labor Movement itself inevitably grows.

Looking Over the Field

By H. BRUNSON

THE Labor Movement of this country has met and overcome many obstacles and handicaps in the little more than half-century of its existence. Many of these difficulties have been so great that in overcoming them the strength of the Movement has been severely taxed. Sometimes its very life has been threatened. But the Movement has not only lived. It has also made progress—wonderful progress.

This success has been based upon meeting the problems that have come up before the unions, in an intelligent way. Whatever progress is made in the future will depend, as it has in the past, upon how the workers fortify themselves with facts about the industries in which they work, the financial powers back of those industries and the Constitutions and laws under which we live. Since the war this is more necessary than ever. Because, on the one hand, there are the Open Shop forces in the field, and on the other, the development of industry is requiring more and more of the workers in matters of organized responsibility. The establishment of the "co-operation" idea on the Baltimore and Ohio shows how things are working out in that direction.

But the average worker will promptly ask the question: "How am I to do these things?" "What time have I to study such questions?" The answer is: "Your future and the future of those dependent upon you for a start in life are at stake. So is that of the Movement, which gives you and them the protection and aid you need. You must make a choice between equipping yourself for the contest or fail to accomplish a full measure of the development which is yours by right." Though one may not possess a brain which harbors an extraordinary genius, he can make it more useful in his own interest, and helpful to others with similar interests, by applying a few minutes daily or a few hours weekly to study. The opportunity is now being given him to devote time to those studies which will enable him to understand the better the growing complexities of modern life, especially industrial life.

Over the Country

During the past six months, I have covered a considerable portion of the country, and have been agreeably surprised at the growing interest among the workers—men and women—in education. Workers' colleges and classes have been formed and are growing in scope, in all sections of the country. In Seattle and Spokane, Wash., Portland, Ore., Denver, Colo., Kansas City, Washington, D. C., Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Boston, most notable progress has been made. In some of the States—California, Colorado, Missouri, Illinois and Pennsylvania, for example—movements of state-wide character are now functioning for the promotion of education among the workers. In the Keystone State the Federation and its Workers' Education Department occupy a beautiful headquarters, opposite the Capitol in Harrisburg. From there the message of the need for practical education goes out to the far corners of the commonwealth.

The Workers' Education Bureau of America—with headquarters at 476 West 24th Street, New York City—is the co-ordinating agency for this great work. The Bureau provides textbooks, so prepared for the workers that they can derive the most benefit from the limited time they can devote to gaining knowledge. It furnishes information about suitable instructors, available throughout the country for classes or study groups. And it gives educational aid in many other ways.

This Bureau has been in existence for about three years. It has the full and unqualified endorsement of the American Federation of Labor. Approximately 1,600,000 members of trade unions—or more than 60 per cent. of the membership of the A. F. of L.—is affiliated with the Bureau, through their respective National Unions.

On the Pacific

A bird's eye view of the country will show that the educational movement at the present time is working in all sorts of directions, and taking up varying lines of study. Out on the Pacific, in the city of Portland, Ore., is one of the most successful of the local labor colleges. When I was there in the Fall, the prospects for the class groups were that there would be at least 200 students for this season. An effort is made to meet the needs and desires of every one, with a resulting wide range of studies. In the curriculum is included social psychology, literature, health, political problems, co-operation, banking, etc. These are grouped around the four basic studies—public speaking, parliamentary law, economics and English. Most interesting of all has been the success of the classes in dramatic art, which

have been the most widely attended of any of the classes.

It is this side of the picture which is a very important one in all workers' educational institutions in this country—the fact that the studies are based on democratic selection. The people who constitute the classes decide what subjects they want to take. The expressions of the desires and aspirations of the group, thirsting for training, is thus met and satisfied. In Portland this seems to have been worked out in a particularly happy way, and in Portland the range of subjects is wider than in any other city that I have visited.

For the one great local labor college that stands out above all others in size, however, one must travel clear across the country to old Boston. The so-called "Athens of America" is seeking to produce a new group of "Athenians." One evening I chanced to enter one of the classes of the Boston Trade Union College, to find over 100 students in one class, attending a lecture on "Social Forces in Modern Literature." Among them were workers of all trades, the most cosmopolitan labor assembly that I had seen for some time—save at meetings of central bodies or state conventions. The Boston group has been very fortunate in securing an excellent corps of devoted and able teachers, and has grown in numbers from year to year. Its current enrollment is well over 400.

Shop Economics

Cities not far from Boston—Baltimore and Philadelphia—may be cited in evidence of the growing interest in the work. The Baltimore institution is among the newest, and has confined itself, during its first year, to a limited number of studies. It is learning to crawl, before it walks. But it has organized itself in an efficient way, not neglecting the necessary item of local publicity, and is on the road to gradual development. In the City of Brotherly Love this last has been the banner year for the Labor College. It has not only carried on formal classes, agreed upon in advance, but has also gone out into the practical field of Shop Economics, to meet the needs of certain local unions. The textile unions have started the ball a-rolling in this important division of workers' education. They are now seeking to learn the economic foundation of the industry in which they work, its financial workings, the inter-relations of the employing interests, the prevention of wastes, what the industrial engineers are up to, and things of that practical helpfulness. Several classes on this subject have been going weeks after the regular courses of the Labor College have come to an end.

Workers education is not a passing fad in the Movement. It has come to stay. It is the means that will give the Labor Movement the capacity to pursue its legitimate aims and objects in a more effective way, in view of modern deveopments. Organized Labor has to face injunctions, complicated shop problems, the necessity for new activities along the lines of labor banking and co-operation—and must prepare by education of its members for these tasks. If Workers' Education does not train for the Labor Movement, it fails in its very reason for existence.

With the Rank and File

The first steps now being taken will help to develop active and aggressive men of intelligence in strategic positions in the Movement. The next step will be to extend the individual interest until it becomes a group interest. The future of the Movement is more or less dependent on the level of understanding of all of us, rather than on the particular brilliancy of a few leaders. No matter how able a leader may be, the success of his democratic organization rests on how the rank and file will view an advanced idea. Nothing is more disappointing to a man of parts than to find that the Movement with which he is connected is not ready to go forward with him. It frequently leads to a broken spirit, and means his eventual uselessness to the men with whom he works.

There is no escape from the conclusion that the average knowledge of the average member of the trade unions must be pushed ahead. Upon that depends the progress of the whole group. Pamphlets, outlines for study, individual as well as group study —must be brought into the campaign, to achieve this result.

We cannot go into an ideal world, either, to accomplish these things. We must build on what there is. To do that takes patience, and patience we must have. It was the patience of Tawney and others that laid so well the foundations of the British movement. Neither need we fear "radicalism" or any other "ism" in working out this task. When facts are placed before folks, they secure in the long run about the same net reaction. The radical tends to become more conservative, the conservative more radical. Facts temper all our doctrinaire ideas.

The aim and task of the Workers' Education Movement is to present the Facts—in order that armed with them, we may build a stronger and better movement.

"What Do I Get Out of It?"

That is the Question to be Answered Now

By ISRAEL MUFSON

BROTHER MUFSON has sent in this statement, in answer to the question in our February number: "Why Workers' Education?" His experience at Cincinnati is more than worth while noting. LABOR AGE will continue to discuss the trend of workers' education in future issues. The reference to the social service attitude in the February number was not to the self-sacrificing motive, but to the "saving from above" view of so many professional social service folks toward the working class.

THE question asked in the February LABOR AGE, "Why Workers' Education?" assumes interesting possibilities in the attempt to make answer.

But before doing so, we must immediately limit our idea of workers' education to the answer to the question: "Whom, within the labor movement, do we desire to educate? Do we desire to educate only those who have potential qualifications for leadership? Or, do we as well, desire to take the rank and file into our confidence and make of them men and women with some conception of the continuity of life and with some knowledge of the experiences to which they are now strangers?"

If workers' education answers the first part of this question then we can look with sincere dismay at the paths which many of our education classes are following. Cultural studies assume important parts of their curriculum. The stress upon direct participation in the organized effort of the workers is lacking. Even class-conscious or trade-union-conscious instructors form no part of the program. In many places, the same teachers and even the same subjects appear in University and workers' classes alike. In the face of such realities those who conceive workers' education as exemplified in the activities of Brookwood can well call a halt, and demand a definite restatement of the principles of workers' education.

But if workers' education is to be broadened to meet the needs of as many of the workers as possible, then another factor must be taken into account. In its light, recent developments in the labor education movement need cause no great alarm.

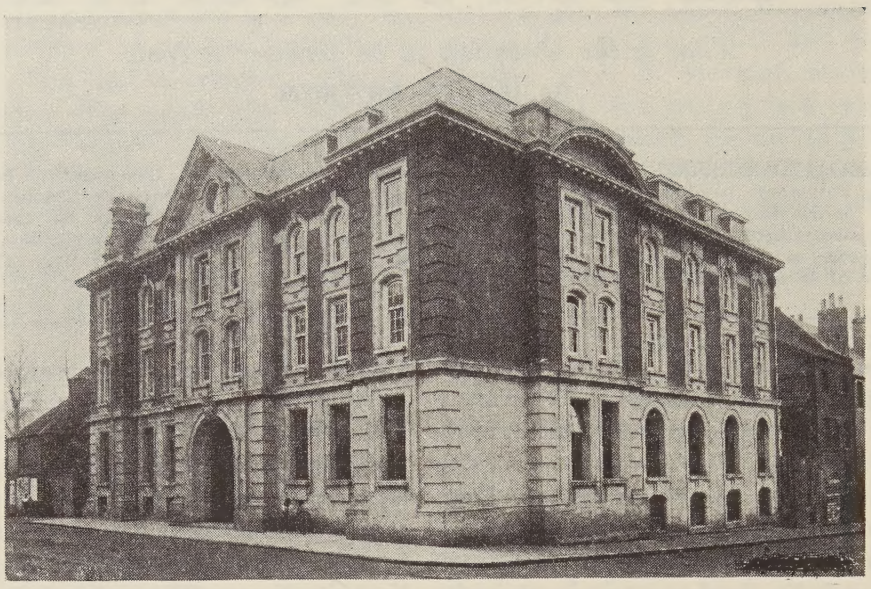
No Alarm at "Social Service"

As a graduate of Brookwood I can be as prideful as anyone of the contribution which that institution is making towards the intelligent progress of the American Labor Movement. But as a graduate I cannot be blind to the fact that Brookwood, and others like it which may develop in the future, can have an appeal only to a limited number within the Labor Movement. In spite of the evident abhorrence with which LABOR AGE looks upon the trend of workers education to become "social servicy," it is very apparent that only those who are ready to accept social service as their life's work will ever be attracted by the offerings of Brookwood. Place the two phrases, "direct participation in the organized struggle" and "social service" side by side and they do not look so very much dissimilar. In other words, only those who are willing to overlook their individual fortunes for the purpose of actively engaging in the service of their movement will leave their jobs for two years to accumulate knowledge "for greater service."

This, then, leaves masses and masses of men and women beyond the pale of additional instruction. To get them to participate in workers' educational enterprises, what are the requisite attractions to be offered? Let us get away from New York and other eastern sea coast towns and come to the provinces for the answer. Here the native American (if two or three generations will make him so) is still found in abundance, making the predominant element. Here the fiercely burning flame of inquiry, which of itself becomes the urge for educational participation, does not exist. Here the wrongs of a wealth-controlled society do not arouse man to a heedless disregard for his personal well being, throwing himself recklessly in the service of the Labor Movement.

What can be the appeal which will meet a responsive chord in the breast of the young man or woman? Personal betterment. No passionate pronouncements about the enhancement of labor's welfare through education; no plea for more intelligent service within the labor movement will stir a hair on their collective young heads. But if adequate answer is made to what can "I" get out of it, then there is the possibility of drawing some of them to the labor classes. Widespread labor education can only take the material which the Labor Movement

IN HONOR OF JOHN RUSKIN



British Labor's First Resident College

Ruskin College, Oxford, England—training ground for many active organizers and members of the British Labor Party and the Trade Union Movement.

has up to the present prepared for it and work with it as best as it may.

Education with Pap or No Education

On that basis are labor classes worth while? The alternatives are either education with pap or no education at all. My answer is that it is extremely worth while.

These people constitute the bulk of the labor movement. If we permit them to remain where they are, the coming Brookwood graduates will find themselves so far ahead that their usefulness will be seriously impaired. I have a wholesome faith in the value of enlightenment. I have a wholesome faith in the influence of environment and occupation upon thought. And if these people, working eight hours on the job, contending with wages and hours and low incomes, come in contact one or two hours a week with academic studies (though not labelled, "for use in the labor movement") unlike the story in the Bible, the fat cows will devour the lean and the influences gathered through 48 or more hours weekly through actual experience will not be dominated by a few hours of theoretic discussions.

What I do hope those classes to accomplish is to develop a spirit of inquiry among the workers. Once this is achieved—and with it the to them astonishing truth that they have minds with which to think—life will take care of the rest.

The Cincinnati Experiment

Upon that basis the Labor Movement of Cincinnati is starting an experiment in education which is, perhaps, unique in the United States. A committee of the Central Labor Council and of the Extension Department of the University of Cincinnati, is cooperating in establishing classes for workers in this city. All the instructors come from the University. The Board of Education has given the use of three class rooms in a local high school. Among the instructors are such well-known names as Dr. Eaubank and Dr. Tawney. Six subjects are offered, Economics, History, The State, Logic, Society and Social Psychology. They are not officially labelled labor classes but we can all rest assured that no strike breakers will ever be developed from them.

Workers' education is a growing movement and from time to time in the course of its development will greatly digress from the official route mapped out for it at the W. E. B. conventions. But like the N. E. P. of Russia it must always be ready to meet the demands of the masses and shape its policy accordingly. Above all, it must attempt to be as widespread as possible, limiting its more rigid principles to such institutions as Brookwood.

The W. E. A. at Work

Ideals and Aims of British Movement

By ARTHUR GREENWOOD

ACKNOWLEDGE of some of the problems which have arisen in connection with the workers' education movement in Great Britain may be of service to the workers' education movement across the seas.

The conditions of the two countries are not exactly the same, and the two movements may have to take different courses. But the things that we have faced in Britain may furnish some help for action in America.

Dogma or Independent Thinking

Our first problem is that of the character of the education which adult classes should provide. Should workers' education aim at preaching dogmas, or should it concern itself with the development of the mind and of independence of judgment? This question is clearly fundamental. On its answer the whole organization of workers' education will depend. The champions of the two points of view in Britain are the Workers' Educational Association, on the one hand, and the Labor College, with its associated organization, the Plebs League, on the other.

The W. E. A. aims to provide the workers with the equipment necessary to enable them to think for themselves, to weigh evidence and to pass sound judgments on the questions which confront them, to the end that they may develop their powers and personalities. The Plebs group regards education, if I may quote the words of Eden and Cedar Paul, as "ergocratic culture, workers' culture, proletarian culture, Proletcult." It is a weapon to be used consciously for the teaching of Marxism to the workers. The W. E. A. has no political philosophy; the Labor College is wedded to a clearly defined philosophy. The former takes its stand upon reason; the latter, on authority. The Workers' Educational Association has the ideals of a university, the Labor College is essentially a theological college.

In drawing this distinction between the two movements, I do not wish to depreciate the "theological" point of view, or the need for colleges for the teaching of particular dogmas; though in my view they are insufficient. Nor do I divorce education from working class ideals. It is not suggested that there will not be elements common to both. But what is needed is that Labor should enrich the world with a culture woven out of its own deep experience of life.

Union of Learning and Labor

The expansion of adult education will be of enormous assistance in the development of a philosophy, and in its expression through new institutions and traditions and in new standards of value. For learning is to the organized workers, not a superficial thing, but a means of interpreting more truly the purpose of Organized Labor. The results of wider opportunities for education, therefore, will be reflected in more clearly conceived ideals, and in the increased power to realize them. But the approach to knowledge, so far as Organized Labor is concerned, will not necessarily be through the orthodox channels of learning. The seed of education must develop in the atmosphere of working class movements. Its nourishment will be drawn from the soil out of which it springs. The thriving plant will then push its roots deep into the sub-soil of our common civilization and gain new strength for itself.

I do not wish to convey the impression that Labor has no need of the services of scholars, or that it should ignore the large body of tested knowledge, and despise the world's store of art and literature. The reverse is indeed the case; what I wish to emphasize is that there must be true cooperation between Labor and learning for the enrichment of both. "If learning has much to bestow on Labor, it is equally true that it has much to gain from Labor. What Labor can give is its peculiar knowledge and experience and its interpretation of history and of society. But this contribution it can make only if it gains free expression. Hence it is that adult education must be developed in the closest connection with the characteristic working class organizations, for they provide the native atmosphere in which alone the working class mind and consciousness can grow to fullness."*

The Labor College, on the other hand, conducts its classes up and down Great Britain independently of any educational organization, and its classes therefore must be made self-supporting.

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* Cambridge Essays on Adult Education. Chapter on "Labor and Adult Education," by Arthur Greenwood.

Let the Public Foot the Bill

When an educational movement is small, it can rely upon the enthusiasm of volunteer teachers. But once it attains any size the number of volunteers willing to face a good deal of travelling and hard work becomes inadequate. In any case, it is questionable whether organized and systematic education ought to be dependent upon the services of unpaid enthusiasts. Clearly, for continuous and serious educational work, adequately paid teachers are necessary.

The W. E. A. has always kept fees low enough to exclude no student. It does not believe that poverty should be a bar to education. Moreover, there are in Britain very few people whose parents pay the whole bill for their education. University education is supplied to students at less than cost price because of endowments and State grants. Even at our so-called "public schools,"—Eton, Rugby, Winchester, etc., which correspond to private schools in America—endowments reduce fees. Our secondary schools charge fees far below the actual cost of the education they provide, and the pupils are subsidized out of local and national funds. Why then should the education of the workers be expected to be self-supporting?

There is a further consideration. In Britain the W. E. A. urges that it is the duty of the universities and the local education authority to provide what the workers want in the way of education. Education for adult workers ought to be a part of the national system of education, and to enjoy the public assistance provided to other groups.

Finally, there is the question whether the trade unions will be able to bear the whole financial burden of the education of their members, when operations are carried on on a large scale. Admittedly, the education of the workers is of fundamental importance to the unions; but so is their physical health. Yet the unions do not feel called upon to devote large sums to the improvement of the health of the workers, though they may make provision during periods of sickness.

It may be, of course, that in America the position of the unions and educational conditions are such that the educational movement may hold aloof from the public system of education, but in that case a valuable means of influencing the whole educational life of the country will have been lost.

Freedom and Responsibility

As regards the general methods applicable to the education of workers, there is little room for disagreement. Local educational authorities in England have attempted classes for workers, but except in the case of technical subjects (where there was a direct economic incentive) they have not met with success. They forget that workers are grown-up people. As I have said elsewhere, workers' education "differs from other aspects of education because of the greater sense of responsibility of the students, the motives which lie behind their desire for education, and the peculiar contribution which they bring to their studies—a contribution which is the result of their experience. In the case of young people, their education is necessarily controlled by others; in the case of technical education, the choice of subject and method of treatment are largely determined by the immediate end in view. But where adults are concerned, we are dealing with a different set of circumstances."†

American Labor must work out its own approach to the subject. It is not for me even to attempt to give advice; partly because it would be impertinent and partly because I am unfamiliar with the American Labor Movement. What I may usefully do is to point to the differences of method and organization which have followed the different methods of approach to the question in England.

Enter: The Universities

The Workers' Educational Association has always cooperated with universities and local education authorities in the provision of educational facilities for workers. The movement has always insisted, however, upon freedom of teaching and freedom of discussion. During the present winter there are in existence three hundred university tutorial classes, and a far larger number of one-year classes conducted generally in conjunction with local education authorities. This work is carried on by money provided mainly by the universities, the local education authorities and the State.

No Royal Road

There is no royal road to workers' education. Even in Britain where the movement is perhaps most firmly established, the educational movement is but at the beginning of its task. We are learning all the time and our one hope is that our efforts may be of service to the movement in America. And even if American Labor devises plans and methods widely different from those adopted in England, at least we shall work to the same common end, and in the pursuit of a common task, British and American workers will, I trust, be united in bonds of comradeship.

† "The Education of the Citizen," by Arthur Greenwood.

Education With a Punch

By MARK STARR

FIVE hundred and twenty-nine classes with nearly 12,000 students in the session 1922-23! These figures by themselves do not suggest to the full the influence of the British National Council of Labor Colleges. Even if in the present session the total exceeds 17,000—as is expected—it will be small enough compared to the 12 to 13 millions of wage-workers in Great Britain. However, the leaven is undismayed by the size of the lump—and there are already many signs of its influence.

The N. C. L. C. includes the residential Labor College, London (maintained by the South Wales Miners' Federation and the National Union of Railwaymen) the Scottish Labor College and some 80 non-residential colleges and class councils in all the important towns. At the moment it is the non-residential work which is making most progress, thanks to the education schemes of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers and other unions.

For Power to the Movement

Obviously, to train 140 students every two years would be a slow emancipation for the workers. Further, it would be foolish to train men and women in social history, economics and similar subjects if there were not widespread provincial facilities, whereby the student educated at the expense of his fellows could hand on to them the knowledge acquired by him in the "Sabbath" of his life. Our aim is to make special educational work a recognized part of the activity of the Labor Movement—to give it quality, to give it the power to use its industrial and political power in the most effective fashion.

It will be recognized that we shall measure our success not so much by the prominence of individuals who have passed through our colleges and classes as by the raising of the general mental level of the workers. There are, however, many names that could be mentioned of prominent persons who have been associated with independent working-class education, either as students, tutors or supporters.

Present Cabinet Ministers such as Mr. Sidney Webb, M.P., (President of the Board of Trade) and Mr. C. P. Trevelyan, M.P., (President of the Board of Education), have acknowledged the good work done by the labor colleges. Mr. Frank Hodges, M.P., (late Secretary of the Miners Federation and now Civil Lord of the Admiralty), was associated with the Labor College in its infancy and acted as a tutor to local classes. The veteran miners' leader, Robert Smillie, M.P., has warmly acknowledged the help given by the Labor College Movement in the last general election. W. Paling, M.P., and J. T. Walton Newbold, have acted as tutors in provincial classes; and many members of the left-wing "Clyde Group" in the present House of Commons have been actively associated with the work of the Scottish Labor College classes in Glasgow and other centers. Mr. Will Lawther of the Labor Party, Executive, is a prominent supporter of the classes on the N. E. Coast.

To name the candidates at the last election who have been students and teachers would take too much space, not to mention the army of speakers and canvassers who did the necessary work on the street corners and the door steps. The Labor Party at its last annual conference recommended to all its constituent organizations a greater participation in the work of the Labor College Movement.

On the Industrial Front

Industrially, also, Labor is feeling the influence of specialized working-class education. Mr. George Hicks, secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers and a prominent member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, has been very active on behalf of education "with a punch to it." In the election to fill the place of Mr. Hodges as Secretary of the Miners Federation, the majority of the candidates are prominent in the educational movement. And everywhere our classes are urged to make their studies close to the industrial struggle and with some positive contribution towards tackling the problems of a closer unity between the now divided craft unions.

The publishing activity of the Movement reveals the extent of its growing influence. Since 1917 the Plebs League—which is responsible for this section—has in addition to the publishing of its monthly magazine **The Plebs,** sold 70,000 text books and 50,000 pamphlets. These text books have dealt with subjects taken by the classes and One Day and Week-end Schools.

To the extent that other unions take up educational schemes and the Trades Union Congress itself takes up this work, the quicker will the lasting ferment be spread and the workers prepared to free themselves.

In New Paths

Can We Beat the "Golden Rule" Employers?

"WE'RE up against a damn bad situation." Two local union officials were engaged in serious conversation. One was a metal tradesman, the other came from the textile industry.

It was the former who was speaking. "We are not only up against the hard boiled concerns like Baldwin's, but also the 'goody goody' outfits," and he mentioned a few.

These latter, he continued, were the real hard nuts to crack. Mr. Vauclain would fall sooner or later, because he relied solely on force. The only worry of this union official was that Vauclain would be succeeded by a "well-equipped industrial engineer," before the feudal power of Baldwin's could be broken.

"Well, that is a problem with us also," retorted the textile representative. "And we have begun to meet that thing with a move or two of our own. We are trying to get a thorough grasp of our industry, as a group. We are trying to get fully familiar with what the employer is thinking and what he has up his sleeve. Equipped with that information, we can not only press our demands at the right time and in the right way. We can also show the non-union worker, in new terms, that the union is his only hope for a breath of freedom."

The beginning was being made, he said, with classes in shop economics, in which the cooperation of industrial engineers and economists was sought and obtained.

Some such conversation as this is going on in many local union offices, all through the Labor Movement. It is not merely the "union-smashing" employer that Labor has to fight; but also the "union-sniping" employer. There are the Henry Fords, "Golden Rule" Nashes, stock-selling corporations, "health-and-welfare" employers, industrial efficiency concerns with a new twist, to block the way of the Organized Workers' Movement.

It is gradually becoming understood that plans such as that discussed in our last issue—the Baltimore and Ohio idea—and the subject taken up in the present issue—Workers Education—are closely knit together. The union workers, as a group, must know more about what the industrial engineers are planning; and must get a good outline knowledge of industrial engineering itself.

The **American Federationist** refers indirectly to that need in its current issue. "A worth-while revolution" is going on in America, it says, quoting Professor T. N. Carver of Harvard. The development of labor banks, the increase in the number of wage-earners owning stock in the enterprises in which they are employed, and the good economic effects of immigration restriction are pointed to as items of this "revolution." "The ownership of the factories and plants by the workers themselves is coming more rapidly in this country than it can possibly come in any other country," we are informed.

The example of the Steel Trust is cited as evidence of the sale of stock to employees, "as a means of tying them to their jobs," which may turn out entirely different from what was originally intended. The winning of the 8-hour day came about in Steel despite the stock-selling schemes. The linking up of this "revolution" in ownership with union participation in control is hinted at as a necessary and important step, in line with the life and customs of the American people.

"There is no reason in the world," says the A. F. of L. organ, "why a sufficient number of employee and consumer stockholders should not through organization leave upon the industry the impress of their desires, or for that matter, *even go so far as to assume complete direction of policies.* In any event, the device is the product of our own conditions and is resulting in real readjustments in American industry." But to make this control effective, it must be exercised through the regular trade unions, "the fundamental and always effective factor for industrial readjustment."

Just how the trade union movement can advance itself, in the face of these plans of the Steel Trust, of Mitten in Philadelphia, of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., deserves all the thought that can be given it. What are the steps necessary in order to preserve union integrity and the union fighting spirit, and at the same time secure workers' ownership in industry?

The A. F. of L., by alluding to the change in stock ownership as a "revolution," indicates that it is control of ownership that the organized workers are aiming at. At the same time, it states that the change will come about, in spite of those using "the oratory of the barricades." The great question as to how a strong union can be maintained, with the stock-selling proposals in effect, remains to be worked out. It is the most important question confronting the American Movement.

Perhaps the next A. F. of L. convention will find an answer. Perhaps by that time the B. and O. experiment will have revealed the way, at least in part. But education in the methods and present control of industry by the Profit Makers will be an important beginning. Classes in shop economics, discussion of the things aimed at by the industrial engineering groups, consideration of the interplay of the financial interests with particular industries—all these pave the way for a better understanding of this peculiarly American development.

"Equal Wrongs"

Women's Plans, Like Those of Mice and Men, Oft Go Astray

WHEN is equality not equality? This is not one of the questions Alice in Wonderland was asked at the famous topsy-turvy trial; it is a real question that the women in industry must answer. Is the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, introduced by Senator Curtis and Representative Daniel Anthony, and sponsored by the wealthy ladies who run the National Women's Party, a real attempt to give women equality, or is it something else?

The Amendment reads very simply:

> Section 1. Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States, and every place subject to its jurisdiction.
>
> Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

But in this simplicity lies its danger. What *does "equal rights" mean?* Does it mean that in states where women have gained the eight hour day and a decent wage by laws, and men have gained the same thing by organization—women's economic equality with men must go, because the two have not a fictitious equality?

The working women of the country think it means just that. The National Women's Trade Union League, speaking for 80,000 organized women, opposes the measure. Everything that can be done by it, the League says, can be done by separate laws correcting inequalities. And the blanket amendment certainly threatens protective legislation for women —the minimum wage and eight hour day, for example.

The forces of opposition to the amendment are composed of working women—the members of the National Women's Trade Union League, and the American Federation of Labor. Other women of all classes are also against it—the National Consumers' League, the National League of Women's Voters, the Young Women's Christian Association, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Council of Catholic Women, the Council of Jewish Women, the American Association of University Women, the American Home Economics Association, the National Council of Women, the Girls' Friendly Society, and the American Federation of Teachers.

The movement for the amendment is being engineered by a small group of wealthy women, who haven't much else to do. They have certain sentimental ideas about equality that this amendment would satisfy. They are interested in protective legislation only to the extent of opposing it. They have not worked year in and year out in a textile mill or a cannery.

Their feelings about protective legislation were very evident at the last session of the Assembly in New York. The Consumers' League of New York was working with the Woman's Trade Union League and several other progressive organizations at Albany to get a bill for a 48-hour week for women through the Legislature. At the hearings, two other points of view were presented—one by the Associated Industries, the employers' lobby in the New York Legislature, the other by the very "advanced" feminists of the National Women's Party.

The lawyer for the Associated Industries made a bad break by speaking against protective legislation. Impossible for these "radical" equality seekers! When he finished, their representative, Doris Stevens got up. She is a beautiful woman who wears beautiful clothes, speaks in a beautiful voice, and isn't above using feminine charm to make her point. She protested against the lawyer's arguments. "We don't oppose protective legislation," she said very sweetly. "All we want to do is to strike out the one word 'women' in the bill, and substitute for it the word 'persons'."

Men do not need protective legislation to the extent that women do. They are usually in industries more highly organized. They are not all so young and inexperienced in bargaining as are most of the women in industry—most of whom have come in but a short time before. They can get shorter hours and a decent wage by union activity—and in many cases they have done so. Women, unorganized, are usually at the mercy of unscrupulous employers, unless they can have protective legislation to help them. They have to work longer hours at less pay than do men, as a rule.

Conditions can be improved, working people know, in two ways; by collective bargaining through unions, and legislation, or both. Working men and women use either or both, according to the needs or possibilities of their situation. They should not have to give up one means to satisfy a sentimental desire of some "advanced" women.

The workers do not propose to give up anything, in fact, that they have gained. They are not interested in theoretical discussions, but in the cold facts which they face day in and day out. Protectice legislation for men has been largely spiked by the courts, which have declared such legislation unconstitutional. The workers do not propose that the latter shall happen also to such legislation for women. They will have nothing of a doctrine, which means at the present time not "Equal Rights" but "Equal Wrongs."

Drawn by J. F. Anderson for LABOR AGE

OUT OF THE DARKNESS—INTO THE LIGHT

Dividing the Spoils

Demonstrating Beyond Doubt that "Brains Wins"

From Labor-Employer Press

WHY shouldn't the spirit of Big Business be proud?

"Capital bears the risks," we are smilingly told. That is why It must receive interest and rent and profit. And lo, when the clouds lower, It "deflates" the worker to Its own satisfaction—much as Mrs. Dombey's funeral was "performed" to the entire satisfaction of the undertaker. It hands out to the son of toil low wages and unemployment.

"Capital bears the risks." And when the clouds pass away, the worker stays "deflated" for quite a time; while the Masters of Bread recover their own good fortunes with astounding rapidity. "Brains wins," they say, Brother Worker, "Brains wins."

The material for our sermon of this evening is taken from both labor and employer sources. The **News Service of the A. F. of L.** and the **Federated Press Economic Service** on the one hand, and **Barron's,** the **Wall Street Journal,** the **New York Times Annalist** and other delightful journals of the exploiting interests on the other. "To him that hath shall be given," is the text.

But few have more, and to few have more been given than to the electrical combine so deeply and "unselfishly" interested in the radio development. When it was not given, they simply took it. Now do these four great corporations have visions of a "super-trust of the air." Nor are they "up in the air" in dreaming such a sweet dream—which can become a nightmare for the people. "If the radio combine is about to force independent broadcasting stations out of business by virtue of its control of patents, the way will be open to such a flood of propaganda as has never been developed through any other channel. The spasmodic efforts to propagandize the motion picture screen will fade into insignificance."

Which reminds us of the pocket money now being made by the electric light bulb trust out of you and me. Light on the Light Trust discloses it to be merely our good old friends, the General Electric Co. and the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Co. How well they have allowed their workers to be organized, the Brotherhood of Electric Workers can tell you, if you wish to know. They simply—don't.

You will therefore be regaled to learn that the combined net profits of the two companies amounted to $189,379,050 during the last five years. In 1923 the General Electric made a net profit of $33,000,000, or at the rate of 18 per cent. on common stock. Westinghouse showed a net profit of $16,000,000, or equal to 18.3 per cent on common stock. The former concern went blithely through the depression of 1921 with scarcely a change in its profits at all.

And then there is the future before these companies! It is a bright and rosy one. As one reactionary journal puts it, for the G. E. Co., the **New York Evening Post,** to be exact: "Considerable less than half of the population of this country live in homes lighted by electricity, only slightly more than half of the factories and mines are operated by this means, and electrification of the railroads is in its infancy. Moreover"—catch this and keep it, Brother—"*the country is just beginning to realize the great potentialities of its water power resources.* As production of electric energy tends to cheapen, its uses will undoubtedly widen immeasurably."

Beyond a doubt, they are on the job. They look covetously to the water power resources of the country, and already count them as their own. Country newspapers are being flooded with the iniquities of the Norris Superpower bill now before Congress, which would keep these resources for the people. It is called "Socialistic," a word supposed to damn it without further hearing.

But be not disturbed. The electrical companies are not the only ones making money. Before we go forward, we might dwell awhile on the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., with its huge profits, ground out of its skin-game on the public. Such skin-game consisting of different sub-companies in the different states, all of them owned in whole or in large part by the A. T. and T. These companies are kept "poor" paying for phones and supplies to the parent company and its avaricious child, the Western Electric. But we will leave that for a further and separate session.

Not to be outdone, tobacco gets in its own good harvest. The Reynolds Tobacco Company made $23,039,876 in 1923—the best year in its history, just as that year was the best for the General Elec-

tric and the best peace-time year for Baldwin's. This neat sum is equivalent to a profit of 27 per cent. for the Tobacco Kings. But if account is taken

Portland Oregonian

THE POT AND THE KETTLE

of a stock dividend of 200 per cent. in 1920 and one of 33⅓ per cent. in 1922, by which the stockholders have 4 shares now where they held one before, the real rate of profit for 1923 is a mere 100 per cent!

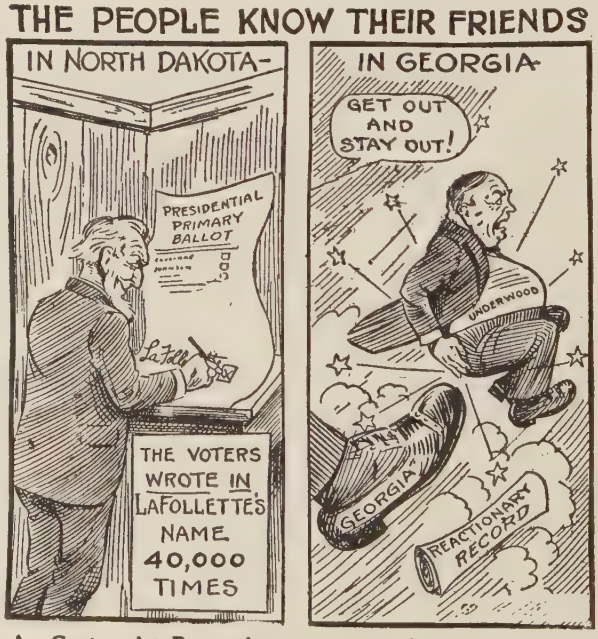
Speaking of Baldwin's, we might as well allude to another builder of locomotives—the American Locomotive Co. It has just imposed a "voluntary" cut in wages of 8 to 10 per cent. on its poor simp employes, while at the same time announcing the largest profits in its history. In 1923 it made profits equal to 42.5 per cent. for its stockholders. It has $36,000,000 salted away in undivided profits and reserves—which could have paid the entire wage bill last year. But this is being held for days of depression, to be paid the stockholders when the workers walk the streets. "Capital bears the risk," don't you see?

The metal industry has more stories than that to tell, many of them. One of them shows that Mr. Gary, among other rare accomplishments, is a past-master liar. The learned Judge informed Mr. President Coolidge the other day that the coming of the 8-hour day had increased production costs 10 per cent. for the Steel Trust. Record profits during 1923, and an extra dividend for the last quarter of that year make Gary's statement look very shady indeed. For the last three months—with the 8-hour day in effect—Steel made the modest sum of $49,958,980. This is a record for any three months in peace-time.

As a matter of fact, the steel workers are not getting their fair share of the product they are turning out. "The profits accruing to the absentee owner of 100 shares of U. S. Steel common stock exceed a whole year's wages paid by the corporation to the average worker sweating in the mills. How about the few like Gary whose holdings run into the tens of thousands of shares?"

Thus asks Leland Olds, Industrial Editor of the **Federated Press.** We leave it to the steel workers to answer. Gary enjoys these privileges at their sufferance. If they use their power, his tribute-without-work can be knocked into a cocked hat. They have secured the 8-hour day. The time has come to press on for further concessions.

In order that none of us may escape, the Profit Making Gentry have taken to poisoning our bread with dividends for themselves. General Baking takes the cake. Its profits of $5,525,559 are a record in its history, meaning a return of 160 per cent., sayeth the **Wall Street Journal.** The Great Western Sugar Co. made 65 per cent., Fleischman & Co., 114 per cent., and United Fruit, 46.2 per cent. So have no fears when purchasing foods of any kind that you are getting "service-at-cost"—the great lingo of the public utilities companies. None of the food trusts are famishing because of lack of "food."



As Cartoonist Baer views recent political events for "Labor."

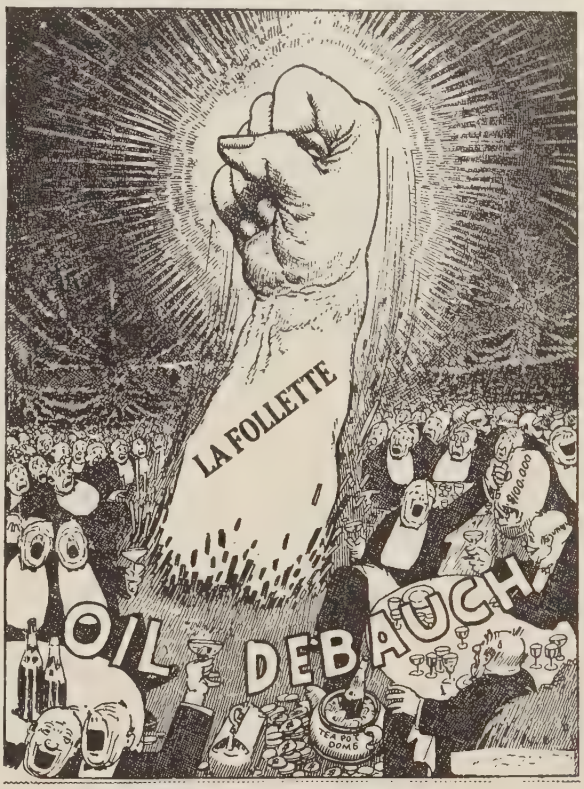
But killing us off gradually, by cutting off our bread supply through high prices, is only one of the favorite sports of the Lords of the Twentieth Century. They also wish to have the right to kill us off rapidly and promiscuously. In February's Labor Age some account was given of the condition of the Pennsylvania Railroad, as shown by its record of accidents and the reports of locomotive inspectors for the Interstate Commerce Commission. Now cometh the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce to protest to the I. C. C. that this latter body is "oppressing" "General" Atterbury's road. The I. C. C.—noted in late years for the speed with which it answers to all railroad companies' whistles—is "persecuting" the Pennsylvania! That is solemnly repeated, under the title "Putting the Screws On," in **Barron's Financial Weekly.**

This has been only a snapshot of the way that the Magicians of Industry make "something out of nothing" for themselves, out of the hides of the workers. An inventory of industry after industry will be given by us month by month, as space permits. It will serve to check-up for the workers the demands that they can make. But for the present it helps to show one thing above all—how our present Profit Making System tends to pile up value upon value in the hands of the few. That sort of thing cannot go on forever. It is very doubtful that the workers will allow themselves to return to the status of serfs, an inevitable result of the present way things are going. Rather is a "revolution" to be expected, as the A. F. of L. says, based upon a new era of "industry for service, instead of for profit."

New Orleans Times-Picayune

"Aw! Have a heart, Robert!"

THE END OF THE REVELS



The "Illinois Miner's" version of what is now to happen out of the "oil debauch."

In the meantime, discontent will grow. The farmer finds his wheat prices at low ebb, his rail charges at high figures. The worker finds his wages still near the ground, his price of bread still in the skies. Bread is always a cause of trouble for the powers that be. It occasioned quite a blow-out in the days of Marie Antoinette.

Here the typical Anglo-Saxon (though not the typical American) way will be followed. First, a Third Party or Third Ticket will arise. The political weapon is the first seized upon always in times of continued depression. Already does the shadow of Robert M. La Follette cause the entire reactionary press of the country to scream aloud in fear. He is the bogey man used to shake the shekels out of the pockets of the gentlemen whose activities we have just been describing. Such shekels flow in a golden stream into the coffers of the old line parties.

Even the coming of King Baseball cannot chase these shadows away from the Profit Makers' summer. They see a bad fall and winter ahead. For always, "Capital bears the risks."

At Home with the Scottish Miner

Why the Northern Collier is a Fighter

By MRS. ARNOT E. ROBINSON

WITHIN the next 30 days in Great Britain, the mining situation will be in the limelight. By that time the employers will have agreed or disagreed with the miners' demands for a readjustment of wages and hours. Interwoven with the workers' program are a minimum wage law and an eight-hour law—with Nationaliation in the background.

In any conflict that may follow, the Scottish miners are sure to be heard from. Although their organization is not as powerful in numbers as the Durham, Yorkshire or South Wales groups, the northern colliers are noted for their fighting spirit and radical demands. When the living conditions in many of their villages are known, the reason for the belligerency of the Scots can be understood.

AN evil tradition has beset the social and housing conditions of the Scotch miner since the passing of a law in 1606 which made him a serf to the mining industry of the country. Until this law was repealed in the beginning of the 19th century a collier could not leave his employment unless he obtained a license from his master. A deserting miner was "held as a thief and punished in his body."

Until the 19th century there were few pits worked in Scotland and the miners and their families formed an isolated and small part of the nation. Nevertheless, the system which made the miners' homes part of the plant of the pit for producing as large and remunerative an output as possible was established in the 17th and 18th centuries, with a consequent low standard of home life. The houses were provided as part of the collier's wages and the rent charged was merely nominal in amount.

In the middle of the 19th century the coal trade of Scotland began to boom. New pits were opened up, often remote from centers of population. Scores and hundreds of houses, of the cheapest material available and arranged in long squares or rows, were rushed up as shelters for the work-people and their families. These houses were erected as temporary shelters, according to past standards. But they remain as a standing menace to the health and well-being of the people who still inhabit them.

A tenth part of the population of Scotland is engaged in the mining industry, and although in some districts good modern houses have been provided, the majority of these workers are living in the dismal and featureless dwelling places, antiquated and brutally inconvenient, which are a heritage of the past. Normally the villages and small towns of Scotland are harder and barer in appearance than those of England. Outside the mining areas, however, many Scottish villages, standing in picturesque surroundings, have a clear-cut beauty and air of distinction which are attractive and unique.

The "Rows"

But the mining villages (or "Rows" as the inhabitants call them) are downright ugly, with their monotony of plan, and congestion of houses.

Imagine a long row of 20 or more cottages with no break in the line. In front of the houses, in the most prominent positions are the public conveniences, ashpits and wash houses. The back of the row is a long wall, seven feet high, unpierced by window or door—for each home has only one means of entrance. Inside the houses are no conveniences of any kind and the accommodation consists of one room. Opposite the fireplace are two beds built into the wall, and having the bare earth below them. The floor is paved or bricked.

When these cottages were built, children were employed underground. Women and young girls carried the coals up long stairs or steep slopes on their backs to the surface. Child labor and the employment of women in the pit were prohibited long ago, but the work of the woman in the home is still essential to the mining industry of Scotland. Probably by the time the miner's wife has washed and dried her husband's pit clothes, and prepared and cleared away his bath, and packed his "bait," she has earned 25% of his wages.

In the village shown in the photograph the women bring the water from the well outside for the bath which the miner must take in the middle of the house floor. The dirty water is carried outside to the open drain which runs parallel to the "Row."

No Village Life

There is no church, no public house, no school, no center of village life. The men hang about the corners after the day's work is over, if they have

EIGHT MILES FROM GLASGOW

"The Rows" in a Scottish Mining Village

LABOR AGE Photos

THE drabness and low level of the Scottish miner's life cry out for radical changes toward a new order. Since "Black Friday," the whole British mining industry has been in collapse—particularly in the North. As G. D. H. Cole says in his history of "Labor in the Coal Mining Industry": "The tragedy of it stands out plain enough. The whole history of the mining industry from 1914 to 1922 is one of the tragedies of the War, showing as plainly as can be the illusory hopes based on the false prosperity which the War produced, and the cruel aftermath of these hopes—the utter crumbling of the war-time structure in face of the economic situation resulting from the war. . . . (The struggle between the miners and the operators) ended with the coal industry in ruins, with the demolition not only of the hopes of 1919, but of the realities of pre-war days." Now are the miners raising their heads again for another struggle.

not the energy to walk to the next village; the women in their unending struggle with dirt and disorder in the cramped inconvenient houses have little time for amusement.

The roads are not made up. For weeks on end in the damp Scottish climate the children step out each morning into mud and filth which their restless feet are always tramping into the house. In this village, eight miles from Glasgow, the houses are one-roomed. In some others two-roomed and even three-roomed houses are to be found. But in most of them the conditions in which the housewife carries on her work are antiquated and hideously inconvenient.

Yet from these homes come chubby healthy children, and intelligent men and women. The mining community of Lamarkshire has produced poets and novelists like James Welch; leaders and members of Parliament like Robert Smillie and Mr. John Robertson, whose names are known throughout Great Britain as spokesmen of the miners. Their speeches and writings are making known to the outside world the needs of the inhabitants of these villages.

Scottish Discontent

In some districts new houses are being built which are setting a high standard. The Scotch grit and determination which have enabled the miners' wives to make such a brave fight amongst the worst housing conditions in Europe, will enable them to make good use of these better opportunities.

In the meantime there is very bitter discontent in the miners' homes and indeed amongst the people of Scotland generally. For generations the people of Scotland voted Liberal and Radical. At the last election the majority voted for Labor. The hunger for land in the Highlands and the bad housing and consequent discontent in the industrial areas are influencing the political thinking of the working classes still more in the directions of Socialist and Labor representation. The descendants of the Reformers and Covenanters are not afraid of pursuing their thinking to what appears to them to be a logical conclusion. In their minds politics and economics appear to be interdependent. Great labor reforms, to their way of thinking, are more than overdue.

Education or Dogmatic Training?

A Few Thoughts Worth While

By PRINCE HOPKINS

UPON this much, class-conscious workers are agreed: That their children must no longer, under the name of "education," be filled with capitalistic propaganda. So the workers are starting colleges and schools of their own, for no urge is greater than idealism and self-interest combined.

But, when it comes to outlining the principles of education which will be applied in our new schools, then many self-interested people part company with the "idealists."

Idealism says: "Scrap all doctrines; let the child appreciate both sides of every question! And also leave him free, to study economics or Babylonian mythology as he prefers!"

Self-interest says: "No! We educate our children in order that they shall fight in our struggle, and on our side. If we let them know the arguments of the other side, they may go over to it. If we let them spend their time on Babylonian mythology, they'll be luke-warm in the economic struggle!"

Fighting Windmills

Now, it sometimes happens that people fight against giants who exist only in imagination, as did Don Quixote when he charged the windmills. During the Middle Ages, much learned nonsense was written over the question, of how many angels could stand on the point of a needle. The pupils of famous professors were then in the habit of supporting their masters' views, however odd, against the adherents of other professors, by street fights. So doubtless these angels caused many broken heads.

Before we break any heads over the supposed opposition between freedom in education and enlisting the children in our fight, let's make sure that this opposition isn't as imaginary as Quixote's giants or the theologians' angels.

Children's Interests

In what are children chiefly interested? Any teacher will tell you that they're interested in live and not *dead* questions. They are interested in activities and the actions and controversies which are going on in the world of their elders. In fact, this is just the difficulty in which the conventional teacher finds herself placed. To her remarks on Greek conjugation she has to fight what she calls "inattention." This, as Norman Macmun has said, really means the child is very attentive to what is more important from his own standpoint.

Dr. Lyttelton, former headmaster of Eton, on March 1st complained that: "Boys in our big public schools at the age of sixteen have no belief in learning. They do not wish for knowledge except as a means of livelihood, which has nothing to do with the matter."

But I've had a school myself, and I know that boys can become exceedingly interested in knowledge. The fault is with the school, which says to the child: "You shall study these dry bones of Greek grammar, because I say it's good for you."

The child is "from Missouri." He must be shown. He is a pragmatist, and must be satisfied that a study has real bearing on life. The modern trend of education lies in the direction of attaching theoretical subjects, such as civics, to children's activities in the school, such as self-government.

So we need not fear that purely "cultural" studies will draft away our children's interest from practical affairs. We should encourage the cultural subjects for the breath of view which they give. Even if a child's hobby is Babylonian mythology it may help him to recognize the sources of many myths of today. His interest may also lead over to history.

Dull Minds

To try to control a child's interest by denying it other outlets of expression than the one we approve of is futile. This can only result in a dull mind, unconcerned about anything intellectual—such a mind as our schools now turn out. Such minds are dangerous to none but themselves.

Of course, there's one other thing we have to take into consideration. In the United States we are not so fortunate as in Mexico. There the government department of education, under Obregon, supplies labor unions with means of conducting schools under their own supervision. American labor colleges and schools have very limited funds. It is a question with them not merely "What subjects would it be nice to teach?" but "What subjects are absolutely necessary?"

The answer must be that the most essential subjects, are those which will help the worker to understand himself, and his social-economic surroundings. Thus he will be able to make a more successful fight

against circumstances. As a result of that gain, worker's institutions will be able to enlarge their scope, and the men themselves will have more leisure to profit by them. But the number of subjects taught should be as great as resources will permit.

What Subjects?

If I were outlining a course for a worker's college, I should make economics and psychology the two central topics. I should urge that these be included with any other subject the student chose to take.

An economics course is really the justification for creating such a college. For the institution is above all a protest against the domination of education by an unjust economic system.

On the other hand, many workers will demand technical training in their occupations. This is certainly desirable. Another most important subject is hygiene. Workers need to learn how to avoid common ills and those due to industrial poisons. They want to know how to choose the most nutritious and wholesome foods on a given outlay, instead of the usual diet of too much meat, pastry, stimulants and condiments.

Thus we have the social sciences, such as economics, on the one hand. On the other, we have those of individual importance like technology and hygiene. Between the two, comes psychology, which carries a measure both social and individual, and which gives sanity and increased understanding in both fields.

Although capitalism seems to ignore the fact, man is a mind as well as a body. Every human problem has its psychological aspects, which are as important as all the others. Strange, isn't it, how people can grasp that to handle machinery requires technical training, and yet think that to handle men must remain a matter of guess work! Or, they grasp how very complex the body is, and the art required to keep it in health; and yet think that the mind is crude and simple and easily kept sane and efficient!

Bringing Out Values

This is my reason for including psychology with economics, as the central subjects for a workers college, just as many existing schools make English, geography or history a central subject. Around these two I should then weave as many other subjects as it seemed we could afford to include—the sciences and the arts. We must become more than machines.

Every subject is capable either of being taught well, or from so lifeless a viewpoint as to be worthless. This depends largely upon the instructor. The question: "Who is the teacher?" is as important as "What is the subject?" A question equally important is: "What material shall be selected, and from what point of view shall be it be approached?"

For instance, Psychology. You could teach the old dry-as-dust academic psychology, about static mental states like "Perception" and "Apperception." But you'd need a genius like William James to make it interesting. The modern schools, and particularly the psychoanalysts, get their material fresh from life. They tell of human passions, and of the unsatisfied strivings which lie beneath seeming trifles. Therefore they are vital.

Enough, however, about the subject and point of view, of Worker's Education. The greatest question of all has not been dealt with—namely, that of the manner of teaching—How much should we emphasize authority? Should we assume that in us lies all wisdom; and proceed to hammer it home? Will such a method give us the sort of young people we need as the nucleus of our advancing labor movement? Experience answers, No.

Why Dogmatism Fails

Why do sons so often deliberately reject the pet dogmas of their fathers? Why do daughters flout the favorite scruples of their mothers? And why do the lessons of history, duly drilled into our schoolchildren, bear so little fruit of political wisdom when these same children grow up to be citizens? The answer, according to the new psychology which bears the name of Sigmund Freud and his followers, is to be found in what is called the Family Romance. The young people will admit it even to themselves. The son has been, from babyhood, secretly jealous of the father; and the daughter of the mother; these antagonistic feelings they may divert to the school teacher.

The modern psychology, as compared to the older, or classical school insists that many of our most powerful motives are "unconscious" (or, in the term of the late Dr. Rivers, "unwritten.") Freud also teaches, that the love-feelings begin from earliest childhood to play a part in shaping our lives. The importance of this was hitherto not suspected.

These feelings are normally contrary to other sentiments aroused by the kindness of father and mother respectively, and by a strong sense of what is right and proper. So the feelings of jealousy are "thrust out of mind." Often the son will go so far in hiding from himself his "underground" dislike for the father, of which he is ashamed, as to give a most exaggerated expression to feelings of affection and companionship toward him; and the girl likewise toward her mother.

ONE VIEW OF EUROPE

THE MILLIONS LENT TO THE LITTLE ENTENTE

M. Poincare (attended by the Finance Minister, M. Lasteyrie): "I am giving you these arms, but do not forget that you will only use them for pacific and humanitarian ends."

The above picture, reproduced by the "Manchester Guardian" from the Parisian paper "Progres Civique," gives a good view of the imperialistic policy of the present French Nationalist Government. This government goes to the polls for support or rejection of its policy this coming month. Opposed to it are the Socialist and Labor forces.

Merely Sent Underground

Nevertheless, the "repressed" feelings have merely been forced underground, and although now "unconscious," they show themselves in apparently accidental ways. These accidents will be found always to work to the detriment of the disliked parent. For instance, the girl will, without the least intention of which she is aware, slip on the rug while carelessly carrying a bit of china of which her mother was particularly fond. Or the boy will set out to do his father some service, and manage the affair so clumsily that it results to his fathers' detriment, instead.

The force of these feelings is, of course, considerably modified by tact and consideration displayed by the parent in question. On the other hand, it is aggravated by harshness and attempts to break the child's will or dominate his personality. Ernest Jones, leading British psycho-analyst adds: "There is thus constantly present an intolerance of authority of any kind, and any person invested with this, or even only with seniority or pre-eminence, may be viewed in the light of this complex."

Naturally, one of the first persons to come in for this transferred antagonism is the schoolmaster. If he presents his point of view dogmatically, the child may, indeed, for the time being, seem to accept it. This is because he lacks either the facts or the courage with which to fight it. All the same, the smart of being made to submit, arouses an inner blind antagonism. It rubs the old wound of the "family romance." As soon as possible, his mind thrusts aside the arguments of the school master, thus painfully associated. Instead, it reaches out for all facts, or seeming facts, which might lend support to the opposite view.

Everyone unconsciously recognizes in dogmatism a neurotically childish attitude toward problems. A truly mature person doesn't dogmatize, but presents his facts dispassionately and hence convincingly. When our opponent—or our teacher—becomes dogmatic, we judge that he isn't sure of his ability to argue calmly. We despise him, and so condemn his beliefs. Unfortunately, the child taught by such a teacher, may come to imitate this very dogmatism even while he despises it. So he himself grows to be a man or woman neurotic, childish, and ineffective.

The Youth Movement

Already there are signs, that the solving of the educational question won't be left altogether to either the state or labor. All over Europe (whence I'm writing this) a new and important movement is making itself felt. The young people are getting together to demand the right to nominate their own university professor, to say what things they shall be taught, and to settle their own affairs in general.

Labor History in the Making

Louis F. Budenz, in Cooperation with the Board of Editors

In the U. S. A.

FOR THE VETERANS OF INDUSTRY

ASSISTING nature. That's what the doctor said he was doing, according to the reliable Sam Weller, when he bled the young boy to death.

Assisting the natural law. That's what the quack doctors of industry say they are doing when they condemn the aged veterans of industry to rot out their last few years in almshouses or in starvation. America is a huge industrial machine today, talking still in terms of a pioneer past. "Every man ought to be able to save enough for himself, to take care of himself when he gets old." That is the philosophy still hanging over us—a very good philosophy, if it only fit the facts.

But you know and I know—and the statistics gathered by the Department of Labor show—that the great bulk of the workers are not receiving a living wage. They cannot meet the decent needs of the present; how then save for the future?

The old age pension movement is gaining ground, therefore, in state after state. Pennsylvania has gone further than any industrial state. It has created a commission to lay the foundations for pension relief. Jim Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, is chairman of the commission. In Ohio the proposal was not so successful; but is sure to be heard from again. In Illinois the miners are interested in a state law for the workers there. District 12 has established a special Old Age Pension Committee to promote the good work, of which Thomas F. O'Connor is secretary.

The Pennsylvania Commission found that in one county "home" as much as $605.05 per year was being spent per inmate; in another "home," $856.85 was being spent each year for each one cared for; while it took more money to deliver the relief to the inmate in many instances than the inmate got himself.

The time has arrived, all will agree (save Mr. Ralph Easley and the employing interests), that this system of waste and destruction of self-respect should be halted. Both society and industry owe it to the worker to see that he is well cared for, when old age creeps over him, and renders him useless for the daily job. In his home he should be cared for, as any man's man would want to be; not in an almshouse, where he becomes "institutionalized" and broken.

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners have rid themselves of even this need, as only a powerful union such as theirs could do. They have bought 1,684 acres of land at Lakeland, Fla., for a home for their aged members. To this place can go any carpenter who has reached the age of 60 years, taking with him his good wife. A three-room cottage, with all the comforts of home, will be awaiting them.

It will not only be the rich parasites who will be hurrying Florida-ward henceforth. An interesting example of what Labor can do by group strength, when it sets its hand to do it! The Carpenters are to be congratulated on this move to make the future of all their members free from the fear of the coming of old age.

DISTRICT 2 ON THE JOB

WAS there ever a strike in union history to compare with the laying down of tools in Somerset two years ago? But very few. Was there ever a series of leaflets issued by a union group, as clear-cut, simple, and forceful as the pamphlets of the Nationalization Research Committee of the Miners, under the chairmanship of the President of District 2? The answer: ditto.

These two achievements drew attention to that district, otherwise lost in the hills of Central Pennsylvania. The Somerset strike is now over. The Nationalization Research Committee no longer functions. But the spirit of these two beginnings remains vigorous and alive in the district.

During the past month a district convention was held at Altoona, to check up on the work of the past and to lay plans for the future. Nationalization came to the forefront. The work of President Brophy and his associates on the Nationalization Research Committee was indorsed, and the district officers were instructed to "continue research and educational work on this subject" to the end that Nationalization be made a reality. A National Fact-Finding Agency was also demanded, "with compulsory powers, continually reporting the facts about coal."

Thus, the campaign for Nationalization again is pushed to the foreground. The unhappy situation in the soft coal field are gaining recruits daily to the Nationalization idea. Despite the extended hearings and investigations of President Harding's Commission, but little was accomplished in a concrete way. Things stand just as they were.

District 2 did not stop with these demands. It also laid the foundations for further development of workers education. Two representatives of the District are now attending the courses at Brookwood Workers College. Next year many more can go, for a college of its own will spring up in the

coal fields. Through a $15,000 gift from a friend of the Movement, the district has been enabled to start this new venture.

Through this means will be hewed out a knowledge of the coal industry in all its phases—that will give the workers a deeper insight into "democratic management," when the day for that advanced step arrives.

THE CRIMES OF COAL

BLITHELY has a writer in one of our standard monthlies set himself to the job of painting the fighting miners of America as cut-throats and murderers. His first effusion was noted last month. His second—entitled **"The Crimes of Coal"**—devotes itself to Herrin, Cliftonville, and other evidences of the "ring of crime" which "ran around the coal fields in the Central Competitive Field" in 1922.

Why does this gentleman devote so much of his energies to attacking the miners, and so softly condone the violence and peonage practiced by the operators? Has he not yet learned the difference between the never-ending lash system of the slave-owners and the strike for liberty by John Brown?

When the miners commit violence, just as with John Brown, they do it as a protest against the denial of freedom to themselves and their fellow-workers. But the operators' campaign of murder and armed intimidation is designed to fasten the oppression of Property on the men in the mines.

To remind us of this, lest we should forget it, has come the Utah mine disaster. Absolutely inexcusable. Absolutely criminal. This has followed on the heels of similar disasters in West Virginia, Kentucky, Illinois and Pennsylvania. "In 1923," says the **American Labor Legislation Review,** "265 miners have been killed in five 'major' explosions in coal mines. These tragedies followed a series of eleven 'major' disasters in 1922 which caused the death of 264 men. In ten years we have killed nearly 25,000 miners!"

We are killing miners off three times as fast as they are being killed in Great Britain. Two-thirds of the fatal accidents in the coal fields could be prevented, if we would force operators to adopt preventive measures, such as prevail in some American mines and all over Britain. Disasters due to coal dust are absolutely unnecessary. Whenever they occur, the operator has merely murdered the miners in cold blood, through negligence or greed.

The above statements—harsh as they may seem—are borne out by the report just issued by the American Association for Labor Legislation, suggesting

THE CARPENTERS PLAN HOME FOR AGED

Union Will Care for Veterans of Industry

"General President Wm. L. Hutcheson, with General Executive Board Members T. M. Guerin and J. P. Ogletree, among the Grape-Fruit Trees on the site of the Home for Our Aged Members, at Lakeland, Florida."—The Carpenter.

a program for the prevention of mine disasters. This program includes the adoption of uniform legal minimum standards of safety, the use of powdered shale to check the spread of coal dust explosions, adequate mine inspection free from pressure political or industrial, and greater public authority to spread information on the prevention of explosions.

All active labor men and women will certainly rally around the legislative part of the Association's program, as being the one on which they can best bear the full weight of their influence. Unions wanting further information can secure it from the Association of which Dr. John B. Andrews is secretary, at 131 East 23rd Street, New York.

But these are crimes in coal to which the operators and their propagandists close their eyes. Add to them the brutalities of the mine guards, the horde of special deputy sheriffs and railroad police which infest the coal fields, the use of the eviction whip on families without warning, the ownership of local authorities by the companies—and you have but a vague picture of the mining regions under autocratic company control.

It is much the same old system of Property Serfdom, which existed in the South before the Emancipation Proclamation. We are awaiting an Emancipation Proclamation in Coal. It will come when the mines are 100 per cent union, and the miners have won their fight for Democratic Management of their Industry.

YOUTH MUST BE SERVED

NOW we have with us—but that's ahead of the story!

Last month a scene was described, which took place in the Board Room of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. It was a meeting of labor men and women, and teachers—to consider the winning of the boys and girls of the workers to the Labor cause.

Out of that meeting has arisen the National Council for Child Development, to which you were about to be introduced a paragraph or two ago. The permanent chairman of the council is Brother Thomas Curtis, of the New York Building Trades, and the permanent secretary Brother Joshua Lieberman, to whose driving power and vision the council largely owes its birth.

In each state will now spring up State Councils for Child Development, and in each Local Associations for the same purpose. Men and women of Labor everywhere can see what this means. If we all put our shoulders to the wheel, it will mean the winning of the next generation to the cause for which their fathers "fought and bled." It will spike the "Open Shop" poison which has been fed so copiously, to our young people. It will allow the boy and girl to learn of the beauties of nature and the use of culture, while also learning the lesson of the value of the Labor Movement.

The New York Association is already planning a camp for the summer, to which the children of the workers can be sent—for a real vacation and a real education.

AND THEN—MANUMIT

IN the hills of Dutchess County, New York, another worth-while effort for the children of trade unionists is being launched.

It is a school, located at Pawling—not far from the Connecticut line. On a beautiful farm the boys and girls will learn the three R's, the arts and sciences, from practical experience. Farm Biology and Animal Husbandry, Farm Botany, Nature Study, etc., will be easily acquired by actual work and play on these 177 acres. English will be taught not only through books, but also through the school paper printed on the school press. Arithmetic will be made real through the keeping of the school and farm measurements. Love of music and the arts will be encouraged, and the means will be at hand for the students to try their hand at drawing, painting, modelling, music and other creative work.

But the most unique and instructive thing about this school is its Community Self-Government. There is no outside Board of Trustees to tell the faculty what they shall or shall not teach. The management of the school is in the hands of the school meeting in which both the faculty and the students take part. There is no better training for real citizenship or Trade Union membership than comes from allowing the students to share in the responsibilities of carrying on the work of the school.

Students and faculty share alike in all the work of the farm and school. Even the cooking is done by them under the direction of an expert domestic science teacher. And through it all runs a spirit of play which finds its expression in games, hikes, group singing, and dramatic production.

This year the school can only take boys and girls between the ages of 9 and 14.

Trade unionists will be pleased to note that the school is 100% organized, all the teachers being members of the Teachers' Union.

If any of our readers wish further information about this school they should address their communications to Manumit School, Pawling, Dutchess County, N. Y.

AN EDITORIAL ERROR

WE regretfully and reluctantly acknowledge an error of fact in the March number. The picture on the first page conveyed a wrong idea, in that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad has never contracted out its repair work. The B. & O. idea, therefore, did not effect this matter of contracting. The error was entirely an editorial one, the picture being selected by us and not by Captain Beyer, whose article it accompanied.

IN EUROPE

A HOUSE IN DISORDER

DURING the recent Italian elections, the postmark "Vote for the National Party (the Fascisti)" appeared on all stamps. It was but one of the many methods used by the "enemies of Democracy" to secure an overwhelming victory through Democratic channels.

Some day we may see similar tactics used in America, with "Vote for the Grand Oil Party" on our stamps. But fortunately or unfortunately, our business press still functions in the best of fashions for the powers that be; even Mr. Hearst taking Calvin to his bosom. With what good or ill fortune to the Hearstian Mexican oil wells we are at a loss to say!

Signor Mussolini again has triumphed, and with him has triumphed Italian Nationalism. Remember his stirring speeches to his black shirts at Milan two years ago: "Italy is not a State, she is a nation. Because from the Alps to Sicily there is the fundamental unity of our race, our customs, our language and our religion. The war fought from 1915 to 1918 consecrates this unity, and if this is enough to characterize the nation, the Italian nation exists, full of power and resource and impelled toward a glorious destiny."

Only a few days ago it looked as though Poincare would stumble. The elections in France are coming nearer, and the answer is not now so clear as that. The Ruhr policy has hurt France—but France will bear many hurts if full victory over Germany is hers. Our own General Dawes has given her hope and comfort, too. And Poincare, sensing the weakness in his own armor, has taken a sudden veer to the "Left" in domestic policies. He has snatched up such of the "Left" forces as he had at hand and has drawn them into his Cabinet. By doing that, he may have snatched victory from the embers. If that proves to be the case, Nationalism has won again in France.

Sit down and look over a map of present-day Europe. It is a hodge-podge of little nations. Andorra and Monte Carlo are no longer alone in the European kindergarten. "Self-determination" has been applied in some way or other, and this has been the outcome. Has it satisfied? It has not. Not only are these wee nations jealous of each other, and of the bigger nations. They also have restless minority groups in their own countries. The Slovaks contend that they should not be lumped with the Czechs in the Czechoslovakian Republic. The Croats object to "servitude" to their cousins, the Serbs. They are a Western people, in religion and in orthography; while the Serbs are Eastern in both.

Thus goes the rig-a-ma-jig all through after-war Europe. Excessive Nationalism everywhere—preparing the way for further hatreds and further wars, and injuring the struggling working classes. For, with few exceptions, this Nationalism does not apply to the protection of the workers within the national boundaries. They have their hours increased; they suffer from the competition of foreign workers, when the employing interests need them. It is a harsh and bitter rod which whips the backs of the European workers today—a rod which bloomed forth from their own inexcusable dogmatic differences, and which after-war depression shaped into a rod of iron.

WHAT THE DOCKERS WON

More Than Mere Wages

OF the recent victories which the British workers have won on the industrial field, that of the dockers has been the most clean-cut and satisfactory. It also has in it the germs of much greater steps forward for the future.

Two issues were up in the strike of the port workers. One was wages, the other employment. On the matter of wages, the dockers received, not all that they deserved, but all that they demanded. They only asked for an increase of two shillings per day, and on that point the employers were forced to give in, which they did most unwillingly.

As the "Plebs" Magazine sees the Recent Strikes.

The other demand is much more important, and so the dockers themselves regarded it. At the present time a man is considered lucky if he gets three days work a week on the docks. With tonnage continually increasing, as the **Monthly Circular of the Labor Research Department** shows, the men not only

suffered wage cuts in 1921 and 1922. They also have been exposed to abnormal unemployment—due to sweating, overtime, etc.

Now, the dockers argue and correctly, they should not suffer longer from this condition, arising out of the disorganization of the ports. *If they are on hand to do the work, they should be paid for a full week's work—whether the employers use them or no.* That was, in rough, their second demand— and they compelled the employers to agree to it "in principle." The details are to be worked out in conjunction with the Minister of Labor. The Transport Workers' Union has introduced a bill in Parliament which will allow the question to be settled temporarily, through a "guaranteed week" arrangement under the Unemployment Insurance Act.

If the union hopes to hold to this gain, G. D. H. Cole declares in the **Socialist Review,** it must work out a real policy of workers' control. The union must see that the "guaranteed week" becomes a reality at the ports. Once before the employers agreed in general to the idea—and then forgot about it. Only by exercising a voice in the control of the management of the ports, he says, can the workers assure themselves that unemployment will be done away with permanently—and no relapses occur in the employers' camp. In other words, the workers must take a hand in the reorganization of the managing end of the ports, and keep a hand always on port control—if they wish to slay the unemployment curse.

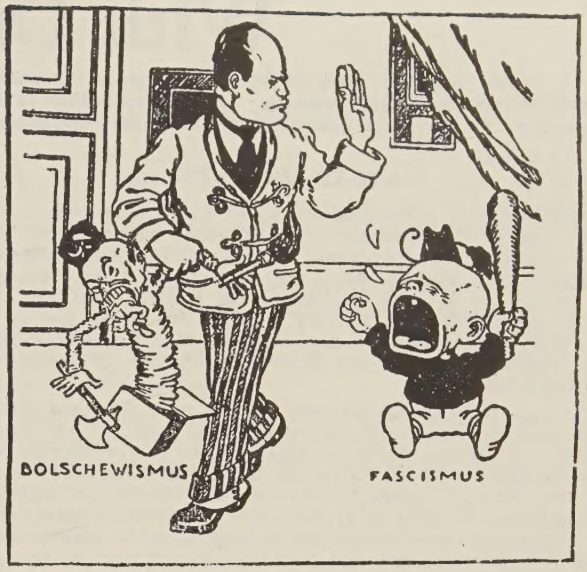
The experiment being worked out in the British ports can well be watched with interest and profit by American workingmen.

OUT OF THE WEARY YEARS

IN 1897 Henry Demarest Lloyd, the noted American writer against Privilege, went to Europe to learn of a fairy tale that had come true.

He attended the International Co-operative Congress at Delft, Holland, and came back to tell of the wonders he had seen and heard. From Delft he had gone to Great Britain on a pilgrimage, to visit the co-operative establishments which had sprung up there during the previous 40 years—a development that filled him with surprise and admiration. He found workingmen running big industries and serving the boards of group-owned companies. He found democracy in business, loss sharing among the group as well as profit sharing, and a new joy in labor in the co-operative field.

His prophetic eyes, taking in the greatness of this thing, would have smiled today at its increase in vigor. It is not to the English movement nor to the German group-owned banks alone, that we need look in 1924. Co-operation, in one form or another, is encircling the globe. Out of the war-bloody years it has come forth a giant. This cannot be repeated too often.



Il Pasquino (and Living Age)

MUSSOLINI: (Apropos of Russian recognition), "No! No! Mustn't pound it any more."

When the International Committee met in Prague this last month, it could truly call itself an international organization. Men from every country contributed to its deliberations. Not only that—but men of every religious creed and every political belief were also represented there. President Masaryck of Czechoslovakia, a Co-operator himself, welcomed the Committee to his country. Even from far-off India comes the voice of Panchanandas Mukherji to proclaim co-operation as "the greatest and most potent modern economic movement in India."

The Russian Movement stands geographically between that of England and India. In 1890 it was nothing. Today it is one of the most widespread and powerful of the co-operative movements. It went through the World War, the Blockade, the attempted suppression by the Communists, and survived them all. This epic of group self-help is set down for us by Elsie Terry Blanc in **"The Co-operative Movement in Russia,"** issued by the MacMillan Company.

For years the "intelligentsia" had labored to bring the gospel of co-operation to the people. But their efforts bore little fruit. Only after many defeats did the effort get under way on any large scale. The Russian-Japanese War set the wheel in motion all over Russia. That war, apparently a defeat, was thus in reality a great victory for the Russian masses.

By the end of 1918 the Russian co-operatives represented 100,000,000 people, directly connected with 80,000 local organizations and 500 "unions" or district bodies. The movement boasted of having 5,000 industrial plants employing 50,000 workers.

(Continued on next page)

With Our Readers

(The interest aroused by the subjects discussed in recent issues of LABOR AGE has flooded this office with letters from our readers. It is impossible to publish all of them, but from now on we will devote at least one page to the most interesting of this correspondence.)

SAVE LA FOLLETTE

RECENTLY I received a copy of LABOR AGE from someone in Thonotosassa, Fla., in which was marked, "La Follette for President," and I read it with interest. I wish to say, though, that I believe the best thing that can be done, is to hold La Follette in the Senate WHERE HE CAN CONTINUE TO FIGHT, and not try to put him in as President of the United States, WHERE HIS HANDS WILL BE TIED AS FAR AS HIS FIGHTING POWER IS CONCERNED.

He may be THE logical man for our next president BUT, with him in the Senate, surrounded by men of the same caliber and fighting POWER, and McAdoo or Coolidge as our next president, there is no reason WHY the Progressives cannot wield enough power to over-rule any reactionary schemes the president is likely to try to put over. If the Progressives are doing their durndest to put through some real important, helpful legislation, and the president should veto it, enough power, WITH LA FOLLETTE IN THE LEAD, could be mustered to put it over his head. Am I right?

Of course, if La Follette gets in the race, I will probably vote for him. But I believe if the people really understand that being president cuts off most of his REAL FIGHTING POWER, they would be more than willing to vote for McAdoo or Coolidge, and keep La Follette in the Senate.

RAYMOND WETHERBEE.

R. F. D. No. 3, Box 85, Fort Smith, Ark.

LABOR GOVERNMENT FOR AMERICA

CONSERVATIVE Old England has a Labor Government and nothing very terrible has happened so far. Why can we not have such a Government? Let us review the situation:

Politicians will soon be repeating the old gag about "Labor being the Foundation of the Government." They neglect to tell Labor that the Superstructure is overcrowded with people who are enthusiastically willing to pass down their liabilities, to be paid by the Foundation. They are quite willing that Labor should furnish men and money to make war, but War's Vast Plunder is divided, happily, between the gentlemen of the Super-structure. Is that what Labor wants?

Wars are, too often, the result of Secret Diplomacy about which Labor knows and can know nothing. The cause of trouble may be Racial, Religious, Tribal or Commercial—the Moving Spirit in every case is MONEY. In every case the Flag is waved and the drum beaten and Labor is pushed into the sacrifice. We can change all this and we can do it so quickly it will make the World dizzy.

If I start the ball arolling, what support do I get from the Labor Press? Here is my idea: We take the sounding title of "KING LABOR" and we call upon all loyal subjects to get together and form "King Labor Clubs" in every Community. Every member will be pledged to the Nomination and Support of a Labor Member for all, both State and National Offices.

If the Labor people will get together in these "King Labor Clubs," we can put up a Solid Front before the Old Line Politicians have a chance to get in, or even to know what's doing. Quick work will win!

If you ask who I am? The answer is Nobody! What do I want? Nothing. Yes, I do want something! I want honesty and efficiency in all the High Places and in all the Offices. The whole Country is discredited through the Rascality of some of those entrusted with the Government. Turn them out remorsely and let us have respectable Workers instead of Grafting Idlers. Any change must be for the better. How about it?

Yours very truly,

ROBERT A. BARKER.

Berkeley, Calif.

ADVERTISING "WHITE COAL"

THE article on the High Cost of Private Ownership in the November number is one of the best stories in *Natural Economics* ever published.

I shall suggest that one of your electrical engineers prepare a graph of the cost of power in the two lines covering three divisions of North America, to wit: Private corporation costs, public ownership costs for the Eastern, Central and Western portions of the continent, 1910 to 1920.

This graph would make a wonderful cover sheet that all students of economics could convert into their 1924 calendar by pasting on the calendar months on the bottom of the sheet.

We can hang these calendars up for all our friends to see. You get the advertising. The science represented in the graph would have to be headed just underneath the words LABOR AGE.

I suggest the title: "White Coal Shall Free the Workers of the Continent."

I shall further suggest that you get Harry Laidler to write the story of the hold-up men of the "Colorado River Pact," 1922; covering Arizona's refusal to ratify and the tools of powerful interests handling the 45-calibre pistols against the public, such as Herbert Hoover of the C. of C., W. F. McClure for Greater California League, Delph E. Carpenter for Colorado Electric Trust, etc., etc.

Fraternally yours,

LEN SCHWAGER,
Fresno, Calif.

(Continued from page 28)

Its great bank in Moscow was the financial clearing house for the movement. Much of this immense structure had been built up in the years 1917 and 1918.

Then came the Bolshevist regime, intent on making every industry a servant of the Communist State. The Moscow Narodny Bank, the key to co-operative prosperity, was put out of business by being made a state institution. The ownings of the co-operatives were "liquidated" much as were the privately owned industries. The powerful Controsoyus, or Central Wholesale Co-operative, was compelled to give up its foreign trade, which it had built up all over Europe.

The Co-operators did not give up without a fight. In the Controsoyus a conspiracy even was hatched against the Bolsheviks. But the conspiracy was discovered, and the men implicated in it were punished. This occurred right on the threshold of a new day. The Soviet Government was obliged to admit the error of its general policy. The "N. E. P." was introduced. Instead now, of seeking to destroy the self-help organizations, the Government saw in them its great hope to save something social from the wreckage. When British trade was reopened in 1921, it was the All-Russian Co-operative Society, Ltd., of London which received the monopoly right to handle the entire foreign trade.

BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

W. E. B. BOOKS

AN issue on Workers' Education would not be complete without reference to the helpful publications of the Workers' Education Bureau. These should be in every trade union library and in the hands of every trade unionist. They range from **"The Control of Wages"**—a lively and effective discussion of that subject—and **"Women in the Labor Movement,"** to the series of pamphlets just appearing. First among these is a study of the British Labor Movement by G. D. H. Cole, the well-known Guild Socialist and writer on British labor problems.

CHRIST OR MARS?

WILL IRWIN always writes well, and is at his best in **Christ or Mars?** (D. Appleton & Co., 1923). This little book gives us some straight talk which should throw a few jolts into those who have imagined that they could serve at the same time these two masters. Irwin pokes fun at the theory that you can "kill the individual German in a spirit of love, as one tenderly chloroforms a crippled pet dog. It may be possible—but it didn't happen." And he goes on to tell what did happen in the training that was deliberately aimed to make men sufficiently brutish to fight war as it must be fought today. This is one of the best little books you could give to that extraordinary hybrid, the "Christian soldier."

CONCERNING MARRIAGE, ETC.

MODERN psychology is claiming its share of the eternal flood of new books. Many of these works are, unfortunately, written for technical students and not for the ordinary reader.

Wilfred Lay's latest book is a possible exception; although he has not made it as easy reading as some of his previous efforts.

But this may be only as it should be, since the publishers announce that because "of those agencies who have been recently active in proposing certain legislation," they "urge that **A Plea for Monogamy** be sold only to adults," (Boni & Liveright, 1923). It is also a book in which the average reader will find many points with which he will disagree heatedly.

These points, however, are supported by Dr. Lay with substantial arguments, as we should expect from a writer of his authority and keen mind. They are of sufficient importance to the happiness of persons married or to be married, to be worth very serious consideration at least. The main thought of the book is, that present-day marriage breaks down through the sole fault, ultimately, of the husband. The spirit of business and industry is opposed to the spirit of dalliance, by its very essence. Man becomes unfitted for lovemaking. The result is a break-down of the marriage relationship, which furnishes a "sober second thought" for husbands.

Over against Dr. Lay's book can be put the work of Professor Wohlgemuth of the University of London—bearing the heavy title, **"A Critical Examination of Psycho-Analysis."** For the general reader, the book is superficial, insincere and highly misleading. Those engaged in psycho-analysis can read some of its criticisms with a great deal of profit, however, as it contains a helpful warning against slipshod work.

And then, there is another work which cannot be popular in any sense, **"The Nature of Intelligence and the Principles of Cognition,"** by Prof. G. Spearman. It is a very important effort, at laying down principles of psychology which will be as scientific as those of biology. But its truly great value is for technical readers only.

The number of easily-readable books on this important science are as yet few and far between. This is surprising, in view of the deep interest being shown in it more and more. Perhaps some of those psychologists now interested in workers' education will put their hand to the task of creating a series of popular psychological treatises.

FICTION AND PSYCHOLOGY

A BOOK that's both weak and strong is Joseph Collins' **The Doctor Looks at Literature,** (Geo. H. Doran, 1923). It fails in its pretension to be a psychological criticism of literature, but succeeds at being a good review of some psychological fiction.

The writer devotes the first 27 pages to hurling invectives at those tendencies and schools in psychology which he dislikes. He offers no refutation of the evidence for these detested views—indeed, ignores it—and more than once gives proof of being misinformed.

Then he gets onto the subject of literature, where he is obviously more at home—though from time to time he still seizes a chance to give another dig at the disliked schools. His lack of caution here stands him to a great extent in good stead, for he criticizes fearlessly. This bold style, mixed with considerable literary insight, intrigues the reader. He has much to say, and comes right out with it, with plenty of personal knowledge about the authors.

PAPINI

GIOVANNI PAPINI has produced a good piece of literature in his **"Life of Christ"** (Harcourt, Brace & Co.). But he has not brought any particularly new message from out of the New Testament, except to picture the story of the Man of Gallilee in vivid and poetic colors. Interest in the book centers on the fact that this neurotic unbeliever suddenly has come to believe, and to proclaim aloud his belief in a traditional religion.

The supreme egotism of Papini, and his allegiance to Nietsche in the days before he "found Christ," are displayed in his work, **"The Failure."** This was written a number of years before "The Life," but has been published later by the same publishers that brought out the former book. These two books should be read together, if they are to be read at all. They show how completely Papini is dominated by his own neurosis.

THE VALUE OF EDUCATION

IN sending in the cartoon which appears on page 14, Brother Anderson writes:

Dear Editor:

I never drew a cartoon on which I wanted to do so good a job of it as on this one. I wish I could have gone to school and learned to be a real artist.

I wanted a good picture, something that would help promote workers education; for I don't know of anything that the workers suffer from more than their own ignorance. Nearly every disaster we have suffered can be traced to it. We suffer from it right down the line—from the high officer who, from lack of training doesn't know how to think clearly (or doesn't know why others think and act as they do), to the Secretary who doesn't know how to keep his books and the man who cracks the head of a scab.

There is no more useful work for us to perform than to encourage education—from the public school where our kids go for a short time to the workers' college, which gives the fellow who had to start to work too early a chance to secure practical learning.

J. F. ANDERSON.

GETTING OVER THE LABOR STORY

BIG Business knows the arts of propaganda. No doubt about that! Cut costs as they may when times of depression come, they always keep up their publicity departments.

Labor can also get over its story to the great mass of people, who are inert and opinion-less. Its story is their story. That is why it does not need expensive publicity men. That is why a mere statement of I abor's case will win a way into their good will.

NOTHING CAN GET THE TALE OVER BETTER THAN PICTURES

On that account, LABOR AGE has made arrangements by which Labor pictures—favorable to the Labor cause—can be released to the rotogravure sections and othr picture sections of the daily press. UNIONS HAVING SUCH PICTURES—of labor banks, co-operative ventures, photos showing bad living conditions and the need for higher wages, etc., etc.—should send them in to us. IT IS AN OPPORTUNITY THAT SHOULD NOT BE NEGLECTED.

ALSO: Labor unions should have the valuable information which LABOR AGE contains regularly at their finger tips. It is information—easy to read—that will help in the fight.

SPECIAL OFFER TO LOCAL UNIONS: 6 copies for $10.00; 15 for $25.00; bulk orders of 50 or higher, 10 cents per copy or at the rate of $1.00 per year.

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